

THE PROCEEDINGS
of
THE SOUTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

1945

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The South Carolina Historical Association supplies *The Proceedings* to all its members. The Executive Committee elects the Editor. Beginning with 1935, every fifth number contains an index for the preceding five years. The price of *The Proceedings* to persons not members of the Association is \$1.00 per copy. Orders should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, 1200 Henderson St., Columbia, S. C.

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J. HAROLD EASTERBY
Editor

COLUMBIA
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The South Carolina Historical Association held no meeting in the spring of 1945. It was decided by the Executive Committee, however, to print the usual annual issue of *The Proceedings*. The Committee is greatly indebted to the contributors for the articles appearing herein and to Mr. Thomas B. Alexander for the index which, according to practice, accompanies each fifth issue of *The Proceedings*. Editor.

REV. PHILIP MULKEY, PIONEER BAPTIST PREACHER IN UPPER SOUTH CAROLINA

FLOYD MULKEY

Consolidated Book Publishers, Chicago, Ill.

In the fifteen years before the American Revolution the Rev. Philip Mulkey was one of the most active Baptist preachers in the colony of South Carolina. His church at Fairforest was the first Baptist church in upper South Carolina, and it was the parent of many daughter congregations scattered over a wide region. The Rev. Mulkey was a remarkable personality, full of evangelistic zeal and a dynamo of energy. His activities extended into nearly every state of the Old South. His later years, however, were sadly clouded because of differences with his Baptist colleagues, which trouble may have been due largely to his loyalist sympathies during the Revolution.

Philip Mulkey was born May 14, 1732, near Halifax in North Carolina.¹ He was the son of a Philip Mulkey who left a will dated December 17, 1736, and proved in May, 1737, in Edgecomb Precinct (in the section which later became Halifax County).² The writer has been unable even after much research to trace the Mulkey antecedents beyond the Senior Philip. There is a story that three brothers, John, Philip, and William Mulkey, went from Maryland to Virginia about 1720, and later to North Carolina. The records reveal a John Mulkey living in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, in the 1720's; in 1729 he sold 1000 acres of land to James Cottman.³ A William Muckleroy was living in the same county in 1726.⁴ The will of Philip Mulkey mentions a deceased brother, probably John. The Jonathan Mulkey who served as one of the witnesses

¹Morgan Edwards, *Materials toward a History of the Baptists in the Province of North Carolina*, a manuscript in Bucknell Library, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa., a transcript of which was sent to the writer by Ethel Palmer. In 1771-1772 the Rev. Morgan Edwards, a noted Baptist preacher and church historian, made a trip throughout the colonies collecting materials for histories of the Baptist Church in America. Most of his manuscript material remains unpublished.

²The writer is indebted to Mrs. John K. Boyce, of Amarillo, Texas, for the loan of an authenticated copy of this will. An abstract of the will has been published in *Abstracts of North Carolina Wills*, compiled from original and recorded wills in the office of the Secretary of State, J. Bryan Grimes, Secretary of State (Raleigh, 1910), p. 260; also in the *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, I, (July, 1900), 348. The children were David, Philip, Jane, Eve, Scarbrough, and Judith. A son-in-law, George Walls, was mentioned. The wife Sarah was the executrix. Friends named in the will were Beckley Kimbrough and John Hardy. Witnesses were Richard Herring, John Calihan, and Jonathan Mulkey. Thomas Kearney was clerk of the court.

³William Crozier, ed., *Virginia County Records, Spotsylvania County, 1721-1800* (New York, 1905), pp. 91, 106, 111.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 97.

may have been the son of this deceased brother.⁵ There was a William Muklerey in New Hanover County, North Carolina, in 1743.⁶

The Mulkey family apparently is descended from the Mullica family of New Sweden on the Delaware. The first member of this family in America was a Paul Malich (or Malecki; he was usually called Paul Joranson, that is, Paul the son of Joran); he came from Sweden in 1641.⁷ Malich was actually Polish in nationality.⁸ The Mullicas soon became a large and prominent family in the Delaware region.⁹ Several members of the family moved into the province of Maryland, where they appear under many variations of their family name. The circumstantial evidence connecting the Mulkey family with the Mullicas is strong, but the actual lineage cannot as yet be established.

The Rev. Philip Mulkey remained in North Carolina until 1760. In 1745 someone by this name applied for 300 acres of land in Edgecomb County.¹⁰ Mulkey married Ann Ellis¹¹ by whom he had the following children: David, Jonathan, Sarah, Philip, and Parry (or Patty).¹² Morgan Edwards made record of the fact that he had been bred a churchman, that is, reared in the Established English Church. Mulkey told Edwards in detail the story of his spectacular conversion; this account is recorded as follows:

Mr. Mulkey's conversion was in this manner. One night as he went out of a house where he had been playing the fiddle at a dancing frolick he saw (as he thought) the Devil grinning at him with fiery eyes; upon which he swooned away. When he came to himself he was in the greatest terror thinking the Devil would be permitted to take him bodily by way of example to the company he had been with. However he mounted his horse and as he rode home he fancied that the trees struck at him, and the stars frowned at him. In this terror he continues about three weeks, reforming but not able to sleep much and wasting in flesh and strength. After this he was tempted to believe that he never could be saved until he had been faithful to his

⁵In 1764 a Jonathan Mulkey made a petition for a land grant in Hallifax District, St. George's Parish, Georgia. Allen D. Candler, ed. *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, 26 vols. (Atlanta, 1904-16), IX, 205. In 1767 a Moses Mulkey made a petition for land, saying he was the son of Jonathan Mulkey and had been in the province four years from North Carolina. *Ibid.*, X, 57, 483.

⁶William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vols. (Raleigh, 1886-90), IV, 683.

⁷Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 1638-1664*. (New York, 1911), I, 151-55; II, 711.

⁸*Ibid.*, II, 547. The Swedish records referred to him as "Paul Malich, the little Pole," that is, from Little Poland.

⁹See forthcoming articles by the author in *Annals of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America* and in the *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*.

¹⁰*Colonial Records of N. C.*, IV, 764.

¹¹It has been claimed that Ann Ellis was the daughter of Robert Ellis, who was a member of the North Carolina Provincial Congress and a lieutenant colonel in the America militia. No evidence has been revealed substantiating this claim.

¹²Edwards, *Materials*. Edwards noted that (by 1772) David had married into the White family but that the rest of the children were single.

old master the Devil, for hitherto he had been faithful to neither; and he began to serve the Devil faithfully. Meanwhile a stranger came to his house whose name is John Newton (now a minister) and read 53rd Ch. of Is. 3d ver. which put him in the mind of sal by xt — Newton goes away — he follows afar off, from an apprehension that as soon as he lost sight of him fire would come as when Lot left Sodom.¹³

Here Edwards' story closes, but apparently Mulkey soon felt salvation. A short time later, December 25, 1756, he was baptized by Shubal Stearns into the fellowship of the Sandy Creek Baptist Church in North Carolina. He was called to the ministry in Stearns church in February, 1757, and in October of that year he was licensed to preach. He immediately assumed charge of the Deep River Church.¹⁴ In addition to his work in his local parish he became active in missionary activities outside his home community, going even into Virginia. We are told that Mulkey and a William Murphy established a new Baptist church near Abbeyville on the Staunton River, Mecklenburg County, in 1758 or 1759.¹⁵

The Rev. Philip Mulkey moved to South Carolina in 1760¹⁶ in a group of thirteen, namely, Mr. Mulkey and wife, Stephen Howard and wife, Joseph Breed and wife, Obadiah Howard and wife, Benjamin Gist and wife, Charles and Thomas Thompson, and Rachel Collins, all from the Deep River Church. (This migration may possibly have been caused by the political troubles which culminated a few years later in the Regulator insurrection.) They settled on Little River of Broad River, and here in August, 1760, the first Baptist church in upper South Carolina was established. In two years this congregation had grown to about 100. Nevertheless in December, 1762, the original thirteen moved again, this time to Fairforest. Here they built a new log meeting-house in the fork between Fairforest Creek and Tyger River.¹⁷ From Mulkey's land¹⁸ on Fairforest, as a center, his influence spread far and wide in all directions. He remained at Fairforest until 1776. By 1772, Edwards re-

¹³*Ibid.* This account is quoted by George W. Paschal, *History of North Carolina Baptists*, 2 vols. (Raleigh, 1930), I, 293, 294 and note.

¹⁴Edwards, Materials.

¹⁵Robert Semple, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 291.

¹⁶The Edwards' manuscript in the Crozer Theological Seminary gives this date. The copy of this manuscript which Edwards made much later (about 1795) for Dr. Richard Furman, of South Carolina, gives the date as 1759. The date in the earlier manuscript is taken as the more likely.

¹⁷Edwards, Materials.

¹⁸Mulkey had a survey of 400 acres of land made December 9, 1762, in the fork between Broad and Saluda rivers on Fairforest Creek; this land was confirmed to him by grant of June 7, 1763. He later bought some more land on the south side of Tyger River in the section which came to South Carolina by exchange with North Carolina in 1772. Obadiah Howard (ancestor of the writer through his daughter Nancy, who married Jonathan Mulkey) had 400 acres on the branches of Fairforest and Sugar creeks. Leah Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists* (Florence, S. C., 1935), pp. 125-126 and note. The writer derived her information from MS Journals of the Council and Plat Books in South Carolina public records.

ports, a new church forty by twenty-six feet had been constructed with galleries.¹⁹ About 300 families belonged to the constituency of the church; the membership numbered 167.

Edwards gave the following characterization of the Rev. Mulkey:

Mulkey's acquirements entitle him to no higher degree than that of an English scholar; neither is there anything extraordinary in his natural endowments, except a very sweet voice, and a smiling aspect; that voice he manages in such a manner as to make soft impressions on the heart and fetch down tears from the eyes in a mechanical way. Mr. Garrick is said to have learned a solemn pronunciation of the interjection O from Dr. Fordice; but if I mistake not, both might learn from Mulkey to spin that sound and mix it with awe, distress, solicitude, many other affections. His success has been such as to hazard being exalted above measure in his own esteem and the esteem of his converts; but a thorn was put in his flesh about 4 years ago which will keep him humble while he lives, and teach his votaries that he is but a man.²⁰

The church at Fairforest was the oldest Baptist church in upper South Carolina and it was the parent-of many branches scattered over a wide region. The Rev. Mulkey plunged almost alone into an unbroken wilderness and laid the foundations of a great Baptist commonwealth. In the words of one commentary he "spared not time, toil, privation, hardship, nor suffering in order that he might plant the gospel banner in newly formed communities where it had never waved before . . . [He had] no earthly agency to back him, no convention, no board and no earthly remuneration save his jaded horse fed and a night's lodging at some way-side cabin."²¹

According to Edwards the Fairforest Church had five branches. There was "one near the meeting house; another at Lawson's Fork where is a little house erected this year, thirty-five miles to the northwest; one at Enoree where is a meeting house built in 1771, distance twenty-five miles to the southeast, no estate; one at Thickety, distance twenty-nine miles northeast." The fifth mentioned by Edwards was on the Catawba River, 100 miles to the northeast.²² Later in his manuscript Edwards mentioned

¹⁹The churchyard, a plot of two acres, was the gift of Benjamin Holcomb.

²⁰This characterization from Edwards, *Materials*, has been printed in Paschal, *N. C. Baptists*, I, 397 and note.

²¹J. D. Bailey, "Rev. Philip Mulkey and the First Baptist Church in Upper South Carolina," *Review and Expositor*, XXI, (October, 1924), 434, 441.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 437-40. Bailey concludes that all of these churches are still in existence. The Fairforest Church still lives under its original name, but has had four different locations (counting the one at little River of Broad as the first). The one near the meeting house is probably the present-day Friendship Church. The one on Lawson's Fork was probably the ancestor of the Boiling Springs Church. The one at Enoree later took the name of Bethel, but is now known as Woodruff. (Townsend in her study on *South Carolina Baptists* disagrees with Bailey on this point, p. 132). The one at Thickety is doubtless modern Goucher Creek Church. As to the one on the Catawba, Bailey wrote that he understood it was still in existence.

still other daughter congregations of the Fairforest Church. Most important was that in the Congaree region, not far from present-day Columbia, distant about 100 miles from Fairforest. Mulkey began his preaching here in 1764, converting several, including William Tucker, Jane Curry, Martha Goodwin, Isaac Rayford, and later Joseph Reese, John Newton, Thomas Norris, Benjamin Ryan, and Timothy Dargan. On November 30, 1766, a regular church was established here by Mulkey and the Rev. Joseph Murphy, with Joseph Reese as minister. (Of the converts at Congaree, Thomas Norris and Timothy Dargan also became preachers.) While traveling between Fairforest and Congaree, Mulkey would stop off and preach at convenient places. One stopping place was at the home of Jacob Gibson in present Fairfield County. This preaching resulted in a new church, established February 26, 1770, by Daniel Marshall and Philip Mulkey with Gibson as pastor. Mulkey's influence probably was strong also in the church on Bush River and in the one on Little River of Saluda Creek.²³ These churches began as branches of Fairforest and were served at first by assistants to Mulkey; later they developed into independent congregations with their own pastors.

Mulkey belonged to the so-called Separate branch of the Baptist Church. The Separate churches of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina constituted the Sandy Creek Association. This organization was disrupted in 1771 with the formation of the Congaree Association made up of the following churches; Fairforest, Stephen Creek, Congaree, Bush River, Little River of Saluda, Mine Creek (or Little Saluda), and later High Hills of Santee.²⁴ Mulkey apparently was active in this association, but he was also striving to bring about a union with the regular Baptists. In 1762 he carried a proposal to the regular Baptist association meeting at Charleston proposing such a merger.²⁵ Again in 1775 he went to Charleston with a letter from the Congaree Association making a similar proposal.²⁶ Nothing came of these efforts at this time but a merger was established shortly after the Revolutionary War.

The events of the American Revolution brought Mulkey's work at Fairforest to an abrupt end. In his article, Bailey wrote that Mulkey completely disappeared after September, 1776, at which time he was mentioned as attending a meeting of the Congaree Association held at Fair-

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 442, 443.

²⁴Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, pp. 174, 175.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 174, citing Wood Furman, *History of the Charleston Association* (Charleston, 1811), p. 13.

²⁶Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, p. 175, citing *Charleston Association Minutes*, 1775.

forest.²⁷ This writer thereupon closed his account, concluding that Mulkey had tripped over his own success, as the Baptist historian David Benedict reported, and had become an outcast from his church.

Philip Mulkey did disappear from South Carolina at this time. The research of the present writer has revealed part of his later story, but only a small part. The key to the understanding of this break in his life was his political stand during the Revolutionary War. He was a loyalist. The Fairforest region of upper South Carolina was a hotbed of pro-British sentiment; it was the only section of the state where the Tories outnumbered the patriots. The people of the up country had long been neglected and discriminated against by the government, which favored the older settlements nearer the seacoast. (Similar conditions in North Carolina had brought about the Regulator movement, which was an insurrection against the authority of that colony.) Therefore when the people of the frontier saw the older sections of the colony supporting the Revolution there was a tendency for them to take the other side. It was quite natural that they should take such a stand. They had never felt any real mistreatment from the distant King across the sea; actually, those who had mistreated them were the patriots then bearing arms against the monarch.²⁸

Open warfare broke out around Fairforest between the two factions. The loyalists were led by Colonel Thomas Fletchall, a large landowner and a man of prestige and character. In the summer of 1775 the revolutionary party sent two delegates, the Hon. William H. Drayton and the Rev. William Tennent, to the back country to persuade the people to sign the Association, as the patriot compact was called. The Rev. Tennent in his diary told of one meeting in the Fairforest region; his audience consisted of "some of the most obstinate opposers of the Congress They seemed much affected towards the close, but afterwards aided by two gain-saying Baptist preachers, they all refused to sign the Association but ten."²⁹ (Probably the Rev. Mulkey was one of these two "gain-saying Baptist preachers.") A few days later Tennent made note of the fact that he had talked to a Mr. Muchels,³⁰ probably Mulkey. The mission

²⁷Those mentioned as attending were Ralph Jones of Congaree, Jephtha Vining of Lynch's Creek, Thomas Norris of Bush River, Jacob Gibson of Little River, Joseph Camp of Buffalo, and Philip Mulkey of Fairforest. A request was presented by some members of Fairforest Church living at Pacolet, Turkey Creek, and Sandy River for a new church on Turkey Creek. The ministers appointed a committee, which on December 23, 1776, organized the Sandy River Church with James Fowler as preacher. Bailey, "Rev. Philip Mulkey," *loc. cit.*, pp. 443, 444. Bailey says he took his information from an old manuscript written about 1787.

²⁸See David Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina*, 2 vols. (Charleston, 1809), I, 253-58; J. B. O. Landrum, *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina* (Greenville, 1897), pp. 55-70.

²⁹"Fragment of a Journal Kept by Rev. William Tennent," in *Charleston Year Book*, 1894 (Charleston, 1894), p. 300.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 301.

of the two revolutionary agents was unsuccessful, so far as the Fairforest region was concerned. Failing at persuasion they mobilized a band of patriots to overawe the Tory opposition. The result was the open opposition of two armed camps, each prepared for battle. Open warfare, however, was forestalled by a truce, the so-called Treaty of Ninety Six District. The following is a quotation from this treaty: "Wherefore, for the clearing up of the said misunderstandings and for the manifestation of the wish and desire aforesaid, Col. Thomas Fletchall, Capt. John Ford, Capt. Thomas Greer, Capt. Evan McLaurin, the Rev. Philip Mulkey, Mr. Robt. Merrick, and Capt. Benj. Wofford, deputies for, and sent by the part of the people aforesaid, have repaired to the camp of the Hon. Wm. Henry Drayton, Esq., acting under the authority of the Council of Safety for this colony; and for the purposes aforesaid, it is hereby contracted, agreed, and declared by the Hon. Wm. H. Drayton . . . on the one part, and the deputies aforesaid, . . . on the other part. . . ." The Rev. Mulkey, however, did not sign the treaty, which was drawn up and signed on September 16, 1775, near the Ninety Six Courthouse.³¹ We may surmise that the Rev. Mulkey, while belonging to the Tory camp, acted as a peace making agent by promoting negotiations for the truce.

We know nothing further about any Tory activities in which Philip Mulkey may have engaged. But apparently he remained a loyalist to the end of the war,³² while trying to continue on friendly terms with the patriot party. This attempt to provide a bridge between the two factions was an utter failure. After the war he was ostracized by his church associates and later he was excommunicated and denounced in the most bitter terms.³³ This denunciation of him as guilty of "heinous sins" and a "disgrace" to the Christian cause can be understood only with reference to the bitterness engendered by his Tory sympathies during the Revolution.

The loyalist sympathizers in South Carolina were hounded by their patriot neighbors and even harried from their homes. In upper South Carolina most of the people had by 1776 either signed the Association or a declaration of neutrality. The non-signers lived under great duress; many fled across the mountains to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi.³⁴ Philip Mulkey was among those who fled. One historian records the appearance of four men—"Mr. Kincaid, Mr. Long, Mr. Love, and Mr.

³¹R. W. Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution, 1764-1776* (New York, 1855), p. 186; John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (Charleston, 1821), I, 400.

³²Miss Etta Means of Mulkeytown, Illinois, when shown the evidence given above acknowledged that it was supported by family tradition. "Years ago one of my cousins told me as a 'deep, dark secret' that our family were Tories in Revolutionary times. I did not repeat what I considered a slander. But her father was one of the older sons of my grandfather [John Newton Mulkey, 1808-1882, great-grandson of Philip Mulkey] and doubtless had it from him as a tradition."

³³See below, pp. 12.

³⁴Amos Lundy Burks, *Revolutionary Committees in South Carolina* (unpublished dissertation in the University of Chicago Library, 1920), pp. 75, 76.

Mulkey, a Baptist preacher"—in Carter's Valley, eastern Tennessee, in the autumn of 1775.³⁵ It has always been assumed that this reference was to Jonathan Mulkey, who later served as Baptist preacher for nearly fifty years in this section of Tennessee. Actually, it was the father who was in this party of four men,³⁶ although the son may have been in the same party.

This settlement in Tennessee was short-lived. During the winter the pioneers lived on breadcorn brought from Abingdon, Virginia, and on buffalo which they killed twelve or fifteen miles northwest of their settlement. In the spring they cleared a few acres of land but after the first working of their land they were thrown into terror by an uprising of the Cherokees, who were allies of the British. "In a very few hours all were on the way to a place of safety, numbers fording the North Fork of Holston about half a mile above its mouth, dashing through pellmell in the greatest alarm—a father on foot, with his wife holding on to the skirts of his coat and children clinging to or in their arms. . . . Some went to Eaton's and camped in and around the house and tore down the fences and took the rails and piled them around the house as a kind of rude enclosure—hence Eaton's Fort."³⁷

In the late summer of 1776 the states of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina co-operated in punitive expeditions against the Cherokees. The Virginia expedition of 2000, commanded by Colonel William Christian, marched down into the Tennessee Valley and completely overawed the Indians without fighting a single battle. Philip Mulkey was a member of this expedition, as were his sons Jonathan and Philip, Jr.³⁸

Philip Mulkey returned to his old home at Fairforest for a brief time after the disbanding of Col. Christian's troops. It is possible that he may have come back without his family.³⁹ He is reported as having attended a church meeting in September, 1776.⁴⁰ We know little about his where-

³⁵J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 144.

³⁶"In 1775 Philip Mulkey, a noted Baptist preacher lived in Carter's Valley in what is now Hawkins County, Tenn. — his son Jonathan was also a noted Baptist preacher." Gen. Thos. Love. Interview in 1744 with General Thomas Love. Lyman Draper Manuscripts, Tennessee Papers, VII, 5; copy made for the writer by The State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

³⁷Interview with General Thomas Love, in the Draper Manuscripts, quoted by Samuel Williams, "Tidence Lane — Tennessee's First Pastor," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, 2nd series, I (October, 1930), 46.

³⁸Lewis P. Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1748* (Richmond, 1903), pp. 232-42. This service has been used as the basis for membership in patriotic societies. Such service standing by itself would suffice for this purpose, but when balanced against the fact that Philip Mulkey was actually loyalist it cannot be allowed.

³⁹According to General Love, in the fall of 1776 Samuel Love and his three sons, together with Jonathan Mulkey, John Long, Moses Winters, and Thomas Owensbee, ventured back into Carter's Valley to repossess their settlement. They were driven out by another Indian raid in January, 1777 (Williams, "Tidence Lane," *loc. cit.*, p. 47).

⁴⁰Bailey, "Rev. Philip Mulkey," *loc. cit.*, pp. 443, 444; see above, p. 7.

abouts for the next several years. In May, 1779, there was a Philip Mulkey in Washington County, Tennessee.⁴¹ (The writer believes, however, that this reference is to the younger Philip.) In 1781 Mulkey helped to make history in the Natchez district of West Florida (now in the state of Mississippi). During the Revolution this district, then British territory, became a refuge for exiled loyalists.⁴² Many of these settlers obtained grants of land from the British government, but there is no record of a grant to Mulkey.⁴³ In 1780 the West Florida territory was returned to Spain. Early the next year the British settlers, with Philip Mulkey as one of the leaders,⁴⁴ revolted against Spanish authority. After an initial success the revolt failed, and the leaders were forced into flight. Mulkey was among those named in the Spanish records as having left the district.⁴⁵ His group fled northward to the new settlement on the Cumberland (now Nashville), where they remained several years until they were pardoned and permitted to regain their property at Natchez.⁴⁶ Mulkey, however, returned to South Carolina in 1781.

After the Revolutionary War the Rev. Mulkey appears only infrequently. In January, 1782, he was one of four preachers (Edmund Botsford, Abel Edwards, and John Lewis were the others) who constituted a new Baptist church at Cheraw Hill in eastern South Carolina.⁴⁷ This service was the last official function in the Baptist Church recorded for Mulkey. We know nothing about him for the next eight years. In 1790 there was a Philip Mulkey in Pendleton County, South Carolina, listed as the head of a family of two, the other person being a free white female over 16,⁴⁸ presumably his wife. He apparently remained in South Carolina until 1795 and possibly somewhat later.

The Baptist Church histories report that the later years of the Rev. Philip Mulkey were sadly clouded. David Benedict quoted the words of Edwards (written in 1772) that Mulkey's success was so great that he

⁴¹"The Records of Washington County," *American Historical Magazine*, V (1900), 377. According to these records, there was also a David Muckky (probably David Mulkey, the son of Philip Mulkey) in the same county.

⁴²Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez District," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II (March, 1916), 465-83.

⁴³Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, "Mississippi's Colonial Population and Land Grants," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* (Jackson, 1916), I, 405-28.

⁴⁴Those mentioned as active in the revolt were Philip Alston, John Turnbull, James Drumgold, James Cole, John Turner, Thomas James, Philip Mulkey, and Thomas Hines. Mulkey was referred to as an enthusiastic religionist. A. W. Putnam, *History of Middle Tennessee* (Nashville, 1859), pp. 178-81.

⁴⁵Dunbar Rowland, *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History* (Madison, Wis., 1907), II, 543.

⁴⁶J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State* (Jackson, 1880), p. 133. According to a Spanish census of 1792, David Mulkey, the son of Philip, was living in the Natchez district. Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi* (Chicago, 1925), I, 333.

⁴⁷Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, pp. 103, 104.

⁴⁸United States, Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States taken in the Year 1790, South Carolina* (Washington, 1908), p. 81.

was becoming exalted above measure in his own esteem; the historian then added his own conclusion by writing that finally "to the grief of the friends of Zion he began to stumble and he fell into many heinous sins, and remained, when an old man, an outcast from the church and a disgrace to the precious cause of which he had been such an eminent champion."⁴⁹ In 1790 he was excommunicated by the Charleston Baptist Association and the churches were warned against him for adultery, perfidy, and falsehood long continued in.⁵⁰ In 1795 he was still engaged in the "Practice of Crimes and Enormities at which humanity shudders."⁵¹

Such bitter ecclesiastical denunciations are difficult to comprehend. Indeed this condemnation is hardly comprehensible in terms of church and religious issues. It is true of course that this period was a time of bitter theological controversy; the fact, however, that Mulkey had been so active in favor of Baptist church union would indicate that he was not a stickler on points of theology. He was spoken of as an outcast from the church, which phrase implies that he had been cast out. Again, the churches were warned against him; this indicates that he was still very much interested in the church and that he had been trying to make overtures to some of the congregations.

This treatment of Mulkey can be explained only in terms of the bitterness felt toward the Tories. Throughout the thirteen states the loyalists were fair prey for the victorious patriots; thousands of them lost their property and many emigrated, large numbers going to Canada. We may then conclude that Mulkey was cast out from his church, not for moral or religious apostasy, but for political heresy.

We know little about Philip Mulkey after 1795. Shortly after this date he visited the Natchez region along the Mississippi, where his son David was living. (His wife apparently died about 1795.) There far away from the Baptist church authorities who had excommunicated him he had a chance to resume his preaching for a short time. The Rev. Richard Curtis, pastor of the Baptist Church in the Natchez region, had been forced to flee because of his difficulties with the Spanish authorities. The church remained closed until it was reopened by "Elder Mulkey." Orders were promptly given for the arrest of Mulkey, but the congregation resisted and proceeded to the fort to demand immunity for him and his preaching. Apparently he was permitted to continue his service. In 1797 the territory was ceded to the United States; shortly thereafter the regular pastor returned to his parish.⁵²

⁴⁹David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World* (New York, 1848), p. 707.

⁵⁰Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, p. 125 and note, citing *Charleston Association Minutes*, 1790.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 125 and note, presumably citing *Charleston Association Minutes*, 1795.

⁵²A. H. Newman, *A History of Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York, 1894), pp. 344, 345.

After his visit in the Natchez region Philip Mulkey spent some time in eastern Tennessee where his son Jonathan was pastor of the Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church. There is a story that he helped to celebrate the observance of a memorial service in honor of ex-President George Washington immediately after his death on December 14, 1799. According to this account he appeared on the same platform with his son Jonathan and his grandson John, on which occasion Jonathan preached the sermon.⁵³ This is the last account we have of the Rev. Philip Mulkey. It is said that he died in 1800 or 1801 but supporting evidence is lacking.

The writer believes that the facts recorded here are sufficient to acquit Philip Mulkey of the serious charges made against his character. He was not a religious apostate, and he was not a voluntary outcast from his church; his service as pastor of a Baptist congregation near Natchez indicates that the old evangelistic passion for Christian service was still burning in his soul. How sad must have been his later years, to hear himself denounced as a disgrace to his church! How sick at heart he must have been, denied all opportunity for preaching!

All descendants of the Rev. Mulkey regret keenly his loyalist sympathies during the Revolution. But it must be recognized that his Tory stand was probably the central fact of his whole life; any suppression of this truth in an account of his life would make the story a farce. That stand was his great mistake, but it was a mistake made by perhaps one-third of all the Americans living in the thirteen colonies. When war broke out with the mother country in 1775 the Rev. Mulkey was faced with a hard choice; he had to make his decision immediately with the light then available to him; he had to take his stand with no foreknowledge of the great historical events to come, without knowing that a new nation was about to be born in the travail of civil strife, and without being able to consult the desires of his thousands of descendants not yet born. His mistake did not necessarily spring from wrong or unworthy motives; it is a judgment of history based on ideals not acknowledged as valid when the decision was made.

The aim of this biographical sketch is to acquit the Rev. Philip Mulkey of charges based on prejudice and passion. Yet in acquitting him of accusations against his character we must convict him of an unfortunate political error, which in the patriotic opinion of our day is almost equivalent to treason. Let us, however, be more charitable in our judgment of our ancestors; let us extend charity to them, just as we hope charity may be granted to us by our descendants in spite of our frequent falls from grace.

⁵³This story is a much-told family tradition. Miss Etta Means of Mulkeytown, Illinois, heard this story directly from her oldest aunt, who knew her grandfather, Rev. John Mulkey (1773-1845), very well and believed the account. Letter of Miss Means to the writer.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA ORDNANCE BOARD, 1860-1861

FRANK E. VANDIVER

I

INTRODUCTION

November of 1860 found the people of South Carolina almost unanimously in favor of secession. The presidential election of that month had defeated what little hope there was for compromise. There was really little of the compromise spirit left in the people by this time. They had had enough of that in 1832 and again in 1850. Tired of shilly-shallying, they were for "separate State action" and nothing else. The feeling that Lincoln and Hamlin would defeat the Southern presidential candidates, Breckenridge and Lane, caused Governor William H. Gist, of South Carolina, to hint at the possible necessity of legislative "... action for the safety and protection of the State" as early as October of 1860.¹

In the event of secession, and on all sides this was looked upon as a foregone conclusion, several important questions would present themselves. First was the problem of secession itself. South Carolinians felt that no problem was presented by seceding, except that of negotiating certain questions regarding public property with the Federal Government. Secession was nothing, more or less, than the inalienable right of those who had entered into a compact, to withdraw from it when that compact was perverted to use against them. In view of this idea, it was natural that there was a general feeling that no war would develop as a consequence of secession.² The opposite opinion was, however, held by a minority of well-informed men.³ If this latter group was correct, and war did result, the defense of the state would be the primary concern of all. Events were to show that the minority were unfortunately correct. Before this was clear, however, the military protection of the state had already claimed the attention of many citizens. Arms were a necessity, and it is to the various efforts of South Carolina to provide them that this paper is devoted.

¹Proclamation, Oct. 12, 1860, in *Journal of the House of Representatives of South Carolina, Called Session of November, 1860* (Columbia, 1860), p. 5.

²See, for example, the *Charleston Daily Courier* (cited hereinafter as *Courier*), Nov. 14, 17, and 24, 1860, quoting respectively, the *Augusta Democrat*, *Yorkville Enquirer*, and *Spartanburg Express*.

³Jefferson Davis was one of this group. Jefferson Davis to Col. W. P. Johnston, Nov. 18, 1877, in *The Journal of Southern History*, (May, 1944), p. 211; also "Santee" to the editors of the *Courier*, in the *Courier*, Nov. 26, 1860.

II

THE PRELIMINARY STAGE, NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1860
(LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS)

The South Carolina legislature, on the first day of the called session, November 5, 1860, took up the matter of protecting the state. Mr. John Cunningham, from the House Committee on the Military, offered resolutions allowing the governor to draw on a sum of \$100,000, appropriated December 16, 1859, for military emergency.⁴ On the eighth, the defense of the state had become so important that a resolution was introduced in the House to appropriate \$1,000,000 for that purpose.⁵

"A Bill to Arm the State" was introduced on the same day. This bill did not pass but, nevertheless, caused wide interest. The Bank of Charleston offered to take \$100,000 of the \$400,000 bond issue called for in the bill. The Exchange Bank of Columbia showed itself to be no less a patriotic establishment by saying it would take its full quota of this sum⁶. In addition to these measures providing funds for military purposes, the governor was authorized to issue arms to new volunteer companies, which were properly organized, with their full quota of personnel.⁷

Wishing to establish a permanent state military organization, the legislature directed that a joint military committee meet during the coming recess of the assembly, and prepare a plan for arming the state and setting up a permanent military bureau. This joint committee was to report a bill on the first day of the reassembling of the legislature.⁸

(INFORMAL OR INDIVIDUAL EFFORTS)

While the General Assembly was concerning itself with matters of public defense, the public was active in its own behalf. Volunteer companies were formed throughout the state and tendered their services to the governor. Many members of the state militia formed volunteer units and reported themselves at the disposal of the chief magistrate. In most instances this presented a serious problem. As these organizations re-

⁴*House Journal, Called Session, 1860*, pp. 13-14. The Senate concurred in this on Nov. 9. *Senate Journal*, p. 30.

⁵It did not carry.

⁶See the *Courier*, Nov. 14 and 26, 1860. This is not to be confused with the \$400,000 loan mentioned *infra*.

⁷*House Journal, Called Session, 1860*, p. 46. This resolution was introduced and passed on Nov. 13.

⁸*House Journal, Called Session*, pp. 41, 44.

ported, they expected the state to arm and equip them.⁹ There were, of course, some exceptions. The Waccamaw Light Artillery supplied one-third of their corps of ninety men with Maynard rifles, Colt pistols, swords and horse equipment at their own expense, but requested the state to furnish sixty rifles and cap boxes, sixty swords, sixty pairs of pistols and holsters, and ammunition for a battery of 6-pounders as well as for the rifles.¹⁰ Other companies were even more resourceful than the Waccamaw Artillery. The Charleston Zouave Cadets, in need of "... knapsacks, blankets, and other accoutrements necessary for active duty in the field..." appealed for public help. Through the columns of the *Charleston Daily Courier*, they asked the people to help raise \$1000 for their equipment.¹¹

Some companies received aid from public-spirited associations, formed mainly as committees of safety. One such was the "Winyah Association of 1860." This was organized with an executive board "... empowered to look to the safety and good order of the District; to aid the Officers of Companies in providing the necessary arms and munitions, until the State authorities can act. Also in directing and promoting all matters necessary to the public good, which are contemplated by the Resolutions forming the Association." The society was to cease to exist as soon as the government of the State was duly organized for defense.¹²

Agents for various firearms of more or less repute, as well as agents for the country's best weapons, recognized a potential gold mine in the troubled secession area. Merchants also saw the chance for rich profits and stocked all kinds of guns. Lucas and Strohecker, of Charleston, had on display specimens of Colt army and navy pistols.¹³ H. F. Strohecker, of the same city, was prepared "... to equip any citizens, volunteers or Minute Men, with all necessary apparatus."¹⁴ He had Colt revolvers,

⁹See, for example, petition of the Charleston Artillery, reported in the House, Nov. 28, 1860, in the *Courier*, Nov. 29 and petitions of the Palmetto Guard, Dec. 20, 1860; the Rutledge Mounted Rifles, Dec. 24, 1860 and Jan. 1, 1861; the Calhoun Artillery, Dec. 25, 1860; the Marion Rifles, Jan. 26, 1861; and the Lexington Light Dragoons, Feb. 11, 1861, in Miscellaneous Military Papers of the South Carolina Ordnance Board (cited hereinafter as S. C. Mil. Papers), manuscript in the Library of Congress. Microfilm copies of these papers are in the Ramsdell Microfilm Collection, The University of Texas Archives.

¹⁰Petition of the Waccamaw Artillery to [the Board of Ordnance?], Jan. 24 [?], 1861, in S. C. Mil. Papers. They received the rifles, sabres and ammunition. See endorsement to above.

¹¹Zouave Cadets to the Public, in the *Courier*, Nov. 14, 1860.

¹²*Courier*, Nov. 15, 1860, quoting the *Pee Dee Times*, Nov. 14, 1860. The idea of committees of safety was a carry-over from the troubled times of 1849. In February and March of that year many district meetings were held throughout South Carolina. "Nearly every one of these meetings provided for the appointment of a committee of safety or vigilance for the district, to call meetings when necessary, and to correspond with similar committees." C. S. Boucher, *Secession and Co-operation Movements in South Carolina, 1848-1852*, in *Washington University Studies*, ser. IV, vol. V, no. 2 (Concord, N. H., 1918), pp. 78-79.

¹³*Courier*, Nov. 7, 1860.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1860.

carbines, and rifles; Maynard rifles and shot guns; Sharps rifles and carbines; Adam's pistols¹⁵ and Smith and Wesson seven shooters.

Luckily for the state, the arms companies were primarily concerned with selling their products and not so much disturbed over who bought them. General A. J. Gonzales, agent for the Maynard Arms Company, Washington, D. C., offered the military model of the Maynard rifle at the same price paid by the United States. This was \$33 per gun for orders of not less than thirty, otherwise the price would be the standard \$40.¹⁶ He was, of course, angling for orders from the many volunteer companies in the process of organizing.

While a general sentiment in favor of boycotting Northern business was rife at this time,¹⁷ South Carolinians did not carry this to the extent of refusing to buy munitions of war from their Northern neighbors. South Carolina was one of the largest purchasers of arms from the New Haven Arms Company, Connecticut, and also purchased a great deal of arms from Cooper and Pond, of New York.¹⁸ Notwithstanding the trade with Northern arms factories, the problem of securing guns and ammunition became so acute that some of the officers of the state infantry service petitioned the legislature for aid to help establish an armory.¹⁹ Governor Gist was of the opinion that it would be important for each individual state to set up an armory "... or that two, three or four states should unite for that purpose. We should not be dependent on the North, or a foreign country, for our weapons of defense, lest in the hour of need the supply may be withheld from us."²⁰ While such an armory was not actually established, the idea behind the discussion concerning it will serve

¹⁵Alabama already had 300 of these and had 200 more on order. *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1860, quoting the *Montgomery Mail*. Many merchants were convinced of the salability of firearms and military equipment at this time. Cf. *Courier*, Nov. 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 24, and Dec. 8, 1860.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1860.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Nov. 21, Dec. 1 and 6, 1860.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Nov. 26 and 28, 1860.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1860.

²⁰Governor's Message No. 1, in *ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1860. The Governor said that Major R. S. Ripley, a South Carolinian, had offered to establish an armory for the South, "in Georgia, Alabama or South Carolina, according as may be agreed on by those States. All he asks is, that each of the three States named should contract with him for fifty thousand dollars worth of arms annually, for five years, and extend their patronage for a short period thereafter; the arms furnished to be up to a standard model, to be determined upon and delivered at prices fixed by competent authority, and to be subject to the proper military inspection, in parts, by State officers, those of each State to inspect the arms for that State. This would be preferable to having an Armory, and would preclude the necessity of burdening each State with an extensive establishment, dependent upon it for management by salaried officers, and would require no expenditure by the State until its value would be received." The Governor thought that this was the best plan for keeping up the State's supply of arms and said that the Governors of Georgia and Alabama approved it and intended to submit it to their respective Legislatures. He recommended that South Carolina take a share in the proposition and bind herself to take \$50,000 worth of arms per year, for the 5 year period. He was in favor of opening negotiations between the three States for the armory site. It is apparent that this scheme did not materialize, for we find Ripley a Brigadier General in Lee's army in 1862.

as an example of the efforts put forth to equip the state troops for field service.

III

THE ORDNANCE BOARD (DECEMBER, 1860 TO APRIL, 1861)

All of these undirected and disorganized efforts to obtain weapons could have led to confusion. Some system was certainly needed to coordinate the state's exertions in this direction. In order to meet this necessity, the legislature, on the first day of its regular session, November 26, 1860, reported "A Bill to establish a Board of Ordnance and an Ordnance Bureau, and for other purposes." The bill, which was ratified December 17, 1860 (three days before the state seceded), provided that a Board of Ordnance be established whose members were to be the governor, the adjutant and inspector general of the state, an ordnance officer and three other persons to be appointed by the governor. The chief executive of the state was to be president, *ex-officio*, of this group, any four of whom were to constitute a quorum. The board was to "engage a fit and competent Ordnance Officer . . .," also an *ex-officio* member. He was to hold the rank of colonel of artillery, being commissioned by the governor. His salary was to be \$3,000 per annum.

The duties of the board included that of examining into ". . . the condition of all ordnance, small arms, ordnance stores, ammunition, gun carriages, and other equipments, shot, shell, and so forth, belonging to the State. . ." In order to carry out this assigned task, the board was granted authority to call on other state officers "who have such matters in charge," for reports on the condition and location of the above munitions. It was granted free access to the state arsenals, magazines, and depots when necessary. It was also responsible for the storage and safe keeping of state war material. Ten thousand dollars was to be added each year to the military contingent fund to defray the expense of a corps of guards the board was to employ to guard the magazines, arsenals and armories, etc.

The board was made the disbursing agent for certain funds appropriated for it by the legislature, for the purchase of improved ordnance material. Any arms so purchased were not, however, to be issued to the ordinary militia or state volunteers, except in cases where they were pressed into service or special duty. The ordnance officer was to inspect all arms and ordnance purchased by the board. He had the added duty of establishing an ordnance department and was to perform such other duties as the board might direct.²¹

²¹"An Act to establish a Board of Ordnance . . .," in *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, passed in November and December, 1860, and January, 1861* (Columbia, 1861), pp. 856-58. This act incorrectly bears date of passage as Nov. 13, 1860. It was introduced Nov. 26, and ratified Dec. 17, 1860. See *House Journal, Regular Session, Commencing Monday, November 26, [1860]* (Columbia, 1860), pp. 7, 226.

For the position of ordnance officer, a man with good understanding of mechanical problems would be needed. The choice fell upon Edward Manigault. He had been Engineer and Superintendent of the Charleston and Savannah Railroad;²² hence was a man amply qualified for the position.

Colonel Manigault's task was not one to be envied. Some 17,000 muskets had been shipped to the Charleston Arsenal by United States authorities between January 1, 1860 and January 1, 1861, but this number was comparatively small when needed to meet the impending storm. The legislature immediately recognized the vital nature of the task assigned to Manigault, and placed the sum of \$400,000 at his disposal. Later, however, this was to be cut to \$150,000.²³ Taking stock of the ordnance resources of the state, Manigault reported on January 9, 1861, that there were in store at the South Carolina Arsenal, 686 rifle muskets of the latest pattern; 5,928 percussion muskets, models of 1842 and 1852; 5,000 flint locks, altered to percussion, model of 1842, 600 flint locks; 267 cavalry pistols, percussion; 501 cavalry pistols, flint locks; 45 carbines; 1,630 cavalry sabres and 101 artillery swords.

In the hands of the state troops²⁴ were 11,430 muskets, smooth bore, percussion, model 1842; 5,720 muskets, smooth bore, altered to percussion, model 1822; 2,800 rifles, percussion, without bayonets; 500 Hall's breech loading rifles; 300 percussion pistols; and 805 flint lock pistols.

In the matter of heavy ordnance, Manigault reported that he had in store the following pieces, obtained in 1851-1852; six 8-inch Columbiads; thirty-two 24-pounder siege guns; four 8-inch siege howitzers; five 10-inch Sea Coast mortars; and two 10-inch siege mortars. Also, he had the following pieces, acquired prior to 1851; twelve 18-pounder guns; five short 18-pounders; twenty-three long 12-pounders; seven short 12-pounders; three 10-inch mortars. This gave a total of ninety-nine pieces of ordnance, exclusive of the four complete batteries of field guns in Charleston, each com-

²²See advertisement of the Charleston and Savannah Railroad in the *Courier*, Nov. 24, 1860. Mr. D. E. H. Manigault, of Austin, Texas, a nephew of Edward Manigault, stated in a conversation with the writer, Sept. 16, 1944, that his uncle was an engineer. The writer is indebted to Mr. D. E. H. Manigault for furnishing this information.

²³"An Act to authorize the issue of Certificates or Stock to provide for the Military Defense of the State," in *Acts of the General Assembly of South Carolina*, 1860, 1861, pp. 951-52. This act was ratified Dec. 22, 1860. "An Act to raise supplies for the year commencing in October one thousand eight hundred and sixty," in *ibid.*, p. 839, ratified Jan. 28, 1861.

²⁴There is some doubt as to whether Manigault, in his report, meant that these arms were in the hands of the State troops, or in the Charleston Arsenal, as he headed this portion of his report "*Small Arms in late U. S. Arsenal (now in possession of State Troops)*." Since the first list of small arms was given as the arms in store, exclusive of those in the hands of the militia, the statement given in the text is probably correct.

posed of four 6-pounder guns, and two 12-pounder bronze howitzers, also excluding eighteen bronze 4-pounders and twenty iron 6-pounders.²⁵

The cause of secession had supporters spread over the length and breadth of the country. When it became known that South Carolina had "resumed her independence," Northerners as well as men from all parts of the South, deluged Governor Francis W. Pickens, who had succeeded Gist on December 10, 1860, with offers of their services. Many propositions came in the mails of ways to reduce Fort Sumter. The Board of Ordnance, as well as the governor, were inundated with letters offering newly invented arms for the consideration of the state. John B. Read, of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, brought to the attention of Governor Pickens his projectile for rifled guns. "By the explosion of the powder the wrought iron portion is forced into the grooves of the gun, and the rotation thus communicated to the projectile secured its striking upon its apex."²⁶ David Looney, of Louisville, Kentucky, offered to allow the state to test a unique weapon known as "Porter's Rifle." This gun could be fired nine times in four seconds and, when empty, could be reloaded by the substitution of a small cylinder for the empty one (an operation reputed to take only three seconds). It was claimed that 1000 men armed with the Porter gun "... can discharge nine thousand shots in four seconds, eighteen thousand in ten seconds, or twenty-seven thousand in fifteen seconds."²⁷ This gun interested Pickens, as did some of the other innovations suggested. On occasion the Ordnance Board would inquire about these inventions with a view to purchasing them.²⁸ The board and Colonel Manigault did inquire frequently about arms up for sale.²⁹ The purchase of arms was entered into by the board on a fairly large scale. They dickered with a Colonel S. Bobo of Spartanburg to get him to cast shot and shell for the state in the Spartanburg Iron Works.³⁰ An order was placed with the Hazard Powder Company of Enfield, Connecticut, for 50,000 pounds of cannon powder and 10,000 pounds of musket powder. Manigault said that all powder obtained from this firm in the past had

²⁵List of ordnance compiled by Col. Edward Manigault, Jan. 8, 1861, in MS Pickens and Bonham Papers in the Library of Congress, microfilm copies of which are in the Ramsdell Microfilm Collection, The University of Texas Archives. (There is another list of ordnance on hand in S. C., Dec. 1860, in Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, 4th Sess., 1862, 606. This gives 103 pieces of heavy ordnance; 66 pieces of field artillery; 27,407 muskets and rifles, 2,271 pistols and 2,648 swords and sabres; and 20,400 pounds of powder.

²⁶John B. Read to Gov. F. W. Pickens, Dec. 15, 1860, in S. C. Mil. Papers.

²⁷Circular, David Looney to F. W. Pickens, Jan. 21, 1861, in S. C. Mil. Papers. In a personal letter to Pickens, Jan. 16, 1861, Looney had given the rate of fire as 9,000 in 4 seconds, 18,000 in 12 seconds, or 27,000 in 25 seconds. *Ibid.*

²⁸Cf. Looney to Pickens, Jan. 16, 1861 (*ibid.*); W. Alston Hayne to the Board of Ordnance, Feb. 8, 1861 (*ibid.*).

²⁹See Charles S. James to Edward Manigault, Feb. 1, 1861; also Gen. A. J. Gonzales to Pickens, Dec. 20, 1860 (*ibid.*).

³⁰Col. S. Bobo to Dr. Cannon [?], Jan. 21, 1861 and *id.* to [Manigault?], Jan. 30, 1861 (*ibid.*).

given satisfaction.³¹ The one rolling mill in the South capable of heavy work was put to use by the board. J. R. Anderson and Company of Richmond, Virginia, were given orders for mortar shells and shot for Dahlgren guns.³²

Some of the ordnance supplies issued by the board brought invectives down on its head. Major A. M. Smith, commanding a battalion of the First Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers, on Sullivan's Island, wrote Manigault:

In yesterdays guard reports the officer of the Guard reports that in the discharge of pieces of the old guards eleven Muskets out of twenty four failed to fire —

In an engagement with the enemy I had as soon have that much sand in my gun as the cartridiges[sic] we now have.³³

It is a wonder that the Ordnance Board did not receive more criticisms than it did. It was evidently considered as much a general military board as an ordnance board. The legislature at one time toyed with idea of letting the board fix the scale of pay and rations of volunteers accepted for state service.³⁴ It was required to issue arms not only to the land forces of the state but to the Coastal Patrol as well.³⁵ It was concerned with the matter of sending arms to Florida. The board informed Governor Pickens that 4000 United States muskets and bayonets could be sent to Florida without detriment to South Carolina.³⁶ Florida had seceded on January 11 and was in need of arms and ammunition. Pickens sent all he could to aid in Florida's efforts to prepare.³⁷

The State Ordnance Department was bound to run into the same trouble that plagued Colonel Josiah Gorgas, Chief of Ordnance of the Confederacy, during the whole course of the Civil War; namely, lack of manufacturing facilities. While the state would encounter this on a much smaller scale, it was bound to have its own particular problem. The sources of both the Confederacy and the various states would be the same; conflicts would develop between state and Confederate ordnance

³¹Col. Edward Manigault to Col. Hazard, Jan. 16, 1861 (*ibid.*). An endorsement on the back of this letter read: "Note. Col. Hazard had been up before *Grand Jury of United States Court* but fortunately *before* he had received my letter."

³²Telegrams. J. R. Anderson & Co. to Pickens, March 2, 1861, Pickens and Bonham Papers; *id.* to Manigault, March 12, 1861, in S. C. Mil. Papers; Thos. H. Wynne to Pickens, March 1, 1861, Pickens and Bonham Papers.

³³Maj. A. M. Smith to Edward Manigault, March 2, 1861, in S. C. Mil. Papers.

³⁴See Senate proceedings in the *Courier*, Dec. 8, 1860.

³⁵Lt. Henry A. Mullins to the Board, Jan. 21, 1861, in S. C. Mil. Papers.

³⁶James Jones, Chairman of the Board of Ordnance, to Pickens, Jan. 19, 1861, in Pickens and Bonham Papers; also *American Annual Cyclopedic and Register of Important Events of the Year 1861* (New York, 1867), I, 646.

³⁷Governor M. S. Perry of Florida asked Pickens, on March 15, for 5000 pounds of cannon powder. Telegram, Perry to Pickens, March 15, 1861, in Pickens and Bonham Papers.

officers. South Carolina in the ante-bellum period never showed much interest in manufacturing enterprises. Manufactures and manufacturing were just beginning to come into their own when the outbreak of the war cut them, along with everything else, short. South Carolina was another of the "Cotton States" which had no heavy industry with which to aid the sorely pressed Confederate States, or to supply its own needs.

On April 5, 1861, the state turned over to the Confederacy such arms, ordnance, and munitions of war as was thought proper by the state authorities. Though the board continued to function on matters relating to state troops, militia, etc., it was no longer a completely independent organization, since the Confederate Ordnance Department assumed charge of the ordnance for all Confederate commands.

SOME EVENTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
IN SOUTH CAROLINA AS RECORDED BY
THE REV. JAMES JENKINS

GEORGE F. SCHEER

The University of North Carolina Press

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, in 1792, after Methodism had been pioneered in South Carolina by such eminent divines as the Wesleys, George Whitefield, Joseph Pilmoor, and Francis Asbury, one James Jenkins, twenty-eight years old, tall and handsome and devout, was received on probation into the South Carolina Conference. Within a few months he proved his sincerity and power. As years followed, he was appointed to circuits throughout the state. His affectionate listeners came to know him as "Bawling Jenkins" and "Thundering Jimmy," for, as one of them said, "when he thundered from the pulpit, there was the lightning stroke of conviction among the people." "He attacked with boldness sin in every form and in every place, and set his face as flint against everything that threatened the purity of the Church." His nicknames multiplied with his activities, prominence, and maturity. As he grew older, young preachers dubbed him "the Conference curry-comb," because his supervision of them was so severe. And famed Bishop William Capers publicly referred to him as "that remarkable man, James Jenkins, whose goodness no one ever doubted."

For almost forty years, through all weather in all seasons, "Thundering Jimmy" rode up and down the Low Country, out into the western ranges, and down into Georgia, carrying the word of God to his people. Under the increasing burden of years, he remained energetic and fiery. When the thin hair that fell in a bang over his high forehead had turned snowy white and his face was chiseled by age, he remained zealous, forceful, and eloquent. But as he neared his eightieth year, the sight in his deep-set eyes began to fail, and soon he could neither read nor write. Like many another parson of his traditional school, however, he felt constrained, while yet able, to record the story of his long lifetime of struggle, struggle to establish his church and to combat sin in man. He was further urged to do so by "several brethren," who persuaded him that making such an account was a duty he owed to his church and the world. Therefore, he dictated an autobiography, which he chose to call, *Experience, Labours, and Sufferings of Rev. James Jenkins, of the South Carolina Conference*, and in 1842 he had it privately printed.

The little book of 232 pocket-size pages is bombastic and precious in style, amusingly pious, and often dull. Today it is almost forgotten. By virtue of one short chapter, however, it is a most valuable contribution to

the scanty source materials on the American Revolution in the South. Early in a life-story that within a few pages threatens to become indifferent reading, James Jenkins injected, somewhat apologetically one feels, an engaging, first-hand account of the war, colorfully relating obscure incidents in the fighting of renowned General Francis Marion's Brigade and other militia forces that otherwise might have been altogether lost.

The original edition of Jenkins' autobiography is disappearing with the workings of time and use and library accidents. Consequently, this editor presents with a few emendatory notes that portion of the book which transcends Jenkins' narrow personal and ecclesiastical experiences and relates events of the Revolution as seen by that godly youth or related to him by his participant brother and friends.

Jenkins' story of the war opens, in his own words, when "Already had the daringly brave Bostonians thrown the tea overboard," and it here follows:

* . * *

. . . After all that has been so eloquently said and written on this subject by historians and others, it might be thought superfluous for me to make any addition. But when I remember that my father and mother, my brothers, cousins, and self, were all more or less connected with the war, and all suffered more or less by it, I cannot consent to pass this part of my history in total silence. Again, I have been requested by an esteemed friend and brother, for whose opinion I have great respect, not only to give some account of the introduction of Methodism into the different sections of South Carolina, but also to record such interesting facts, connected with the war, as came under my own observation and that of my brother, from whose lips I received them. I do this the more cheerfully, that my children and friends may know how to appreciate the blessings and privileges which have been secured to them by the blood and lives of their progenitors.

Some of these facts have been partially noticed by Ramsay,¹ Weems,² and others. Some have been merely alluded to, while others have been entirely omitted; indeed, it could not be expected that they should relate every circumstance that might be interesting to posterity, admitting even they were in possession of the materials.

¹David Ramsay, historian of the Revolution and South Carolina's share in it in such works as *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina, from a British Province to an Independent State* (Trenton, 1785), *The History of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1789); and *The History of South Carolina, from Its First Settlement in 1670, to the Year 1808*, 2 vols. (Charleston, 1809).

²Mason Locke Weems, *The Life of Gen. Francis Marion* (Philadelphia, 1809).

My father belonged at this time to the Neck company, commanded by Captain John Dozier,³ which was early called out, and he among the rest, to rout the Tories on Keowee River, N. C., in what was called the Keowee expedition.⁴ After they had dispersed the Tories and taken Fletcher,⁵ an officer, prisoner, he returned; not having been absent more than four or five weeks.

Respecting the morals of the people, I incline to think that non-professors were as free from gross immoralities, previously to the war, as they are now; though they became very dissolute and abandoned in their habits during the war. In the large company above mentioned, there were only two persons in the habit of getting drunk, though they had spirits constantly at command; nor were there more than two or three personal combats during my father's stay in it; and these were not occasioned by drinking.

Their principal amusements were foot-racing, horse-racing, dancing, etc.; and I do not remember to have heard any one, in those days, professing godliness, justify these practices, so destructive to piety, time, money, health, and sometimes even to life itself. About a year after this first expedition, my father was draughted to defend the sea-coast, and stationed on Seawee Bay, in what was called, I think, the Seawee expedition. He left in the spring, just after his crop had been planted, and did not return until harvest; but, by the blessing of a kind Providence on our efforts at home, we made a plentiful crop; never better, even when he was with us.

In the year 1778, as well as I remember, my brother Francis, being a bachelor, insisted on our moving down in the Neck, and living with him, as he had room and land enough for us all; accordingly, we did so. We were now in the midst of a neighbourhood of hot Whigs and warm friends of their country. But there was a body of Tories over Little Pee Dee, who were becoming very troublesome, constantly committing depredations on their neighbours; in consequence of this, my cousin John Jenkins, being the only Whig in that settlement, feeling his life to be constantly in jeopardy, took refuge in the Neck. By this time our family became quite large—father, mother, four sons, and one cousin; but it did not continue

³John Dozier is listed in the *Journal of the Council of Safety*, 21 February, 1776, as Captain of a Volunteer Company of St. David's Parish, part of the regiment of Colonel Gabriel G. Powell. The company doubtlessly was familiarly called the "Neck" company, because it was made up of men of Britton's Neck, that piece of land which lay in the fork of the Great Pee Dee and Little Pee Dee rivers, the birthplace of James Jenkins.

⁴This "expedition," as well as the Sewee expedition referred to below, was probably one of the forays by militia regiments against Tory armed bands that marked the opening phases of the war in South Carolina. The Keowee expedition may have been what has come to be called the "Snow Campaign" of Colonel Richard Richardson into the back parts of Carolina in 1776.

⁵Possibly Colonel Thomas Fletchell.

so long; for at the call of our beloved country, my brothers and cousin left us, and made the swamp their camp, and the battle-field their home. They, and all the Neck company, were now called out into the army, in which they continued, by intervals, until the close of the war. Meanwhile, our troublesome neighbours, taking the advantage of our unprotected condition, (for there were scarcely a half dozen men left in the Neck,) came down on a plundering expedition, and scoured out the settlement like a swarm of hungry Egyptian locusts. When I saw them coming to our house, I took refuge in the top of a tree about eighty yards distant, whence I could see all their movements, undiscovered. In this situation I was when they took the last horse we had on the place, and although large enough to carry a gun, I durst not open my mouth; for they would have shot me down with the same indifference that they would a squirrel or a crow.

Near the time of which I have just been speaking, in the year 1780, we lost our beloved father. This was a heavy stroke indeed, especially at this time, when my brothers were in the army, and my mother and self in a most exposed and dangerous situation; for it is difficult to say who were in the more perilous condition, they in the field, or we at home. My father died of consumption, which was induced by exposure, during his service in the Seawee expedition. Before he died, he gave me a serious admonition respecting my soul, which affected me much at the time; but the impression was of short continuance.

He left the management of his property, etc., to my eldest brother, Francis Goddard; and directed that I should be bound to James Dupree, who was related to the family; but my brother having been killed shortly afterward, this direction was neglected.

Soon after my father's death, the British, who were fortified in Georgetown, sent a flag and message to our men, who were at their redoubt, thrown up on the east side of Great Pee Dee, by order of Colonel Irvin.⁶ The bearer of his flag was Merriott,⁷ the officer who afterward made so narrow an escape near Georgetown, when he was the only one out of twenty-five that was not taken; and who was so dreadfully frightened in the chase, "that he turned as gray as a badger before he crawled out of the swamp and reached Georgetown that night."⁸ On his way to Irvin's

⁶Colonel John Ervin, of Marion's Brigade. Usually it was under his command that Marion placed the Snow's Island rendezvous of the Brigade when the main force went forth to fight.

⁷This Merriott, or Merritt, was characterized by Marion, himself, as "a brave fellow." In commenting on the narrow escape to which Jenkins refers, Marion said that Merritt brought up the rear of his retreating patrol of fifteen men. Marion's officers each came up with Merritt in succession. "Baxter," Marion reported, "with pistols, fired at his breast, and missing him, retired; Postell and Greene with swords, engaged him; both were beaten off. Greene nearly lost his head . . . I almost blush to say that this one British officer beat off three Americans."

⁸The story that Merritt turned gray overnight is told in Weems' *Marion*, 137, in similar words; the quotation seems to be a remembered transcription of the author's words.

redoubt, he crossed Britton's Ferry, and cousin Britton accompanied him to our house. Neither mother nor myself knew that he was a British officer until he made a remark that revealed the secret. Mother asked cousin Britton if it would be safe to send to Waccamaw⁹ for salt? to which Merriott replied, with an oath, "No, madam, for we have a great big thing there we call a galley." Mother, mortified that she should have expressed a fear about the strength of our fort, in the presence of an enemy, and indignant at his reply, answered: "Sir, I suppose you think you have got so far back in the country that no one here ever saw a galley but yourself; I will have you to know, sir, that I have been as well raised as yourself." Merriott, finding times were getting rather hot, attempted to apologize, as he picked up his hat to leave; but mother, turning to cousin Britton, said, in the presence of the officer who was retiring, "If you cannot bring any better company with you than this, you had better keep away." When he got to the redoubt, he was taken prisoner and confined in Wm. Goddard's house until the British relieved him; for Irvin, hearing that they were coming, vacated the fort.

I do not remember any incidents worth recording, respecting my brothers, until after they joined Marion; which was soon after he retook our men near Nelson's Ferry, and made prisoners of the British, the captain who ran up the chimney, and all.¹⁰ They continued with him during the war, bearing a part in nearly all his skirmishes. This company was called "Marion's Brigade;" some of whose engagements, especially those with which my brothers were connected, I will now notice. And first, they were present at Black Mingo Swamp,¹¹ where the two armies fought so close to each other that the wads fell on each side. Here Marion

⁹This eastern district along Waccamaw River, called Waccamaw Neck, was then a region of rich plantations, whence both armies frequently drew supplies.

¹⁰This was the action at Thomas Sumter's house, north of Nelson's Ferry on the Santee River, along the Charleston-Camden military route, on August 25, 1780. The attack, fourth in which Marion engaged the militia of which he had taken command on August 10, was planned by Marion on information received from a British deserter. The deserter revealed that Horatio Gates' American Army had been defeated at Camden, on August 16, and that a British escort, en route to Charleston with captured Americans, planned to spend the night at Sumter's. Marion's surprise of them was complete. Twenty-seven of the enemy were lost in killed, wounded and taken; 150 Americans were released from captivity. Two of Marion's men took wounds. Weems' *Marion*, 117, is responsible for the story of the British captain's strange refuge. Weems writes: "After securing their arms, Marion called for their captain; but he was not to be found, high nor low, among the living or dead. However, after a hot search, he was found up the chimney!" One captain of the British 63d Regiment was captured, but Marion's report does not mention that he was discovered in a chimney.

¹¹The dramatic night action against Tories under Captain John Coming Ball at Black Mingo took place at nearly midnight, on September 28, 1780. Jenkins errs in telling the story. Marion's report to General Gates states that the enemy "reed our fire within thirty yards which they returned twice & then took into their swamp." It was a very successful action, despite the fact that the enemy was warned by the sound of Marion's horses on the bridge. The Tories were dispersed, several killed and thirteen taken prisoner. All of their baggage and horses were taken.

was in a fair way to gain a complete victory; but hearing Colonel Hovey's¹² horse crossing the Black River bridge, and supposing it was the enemy coming on his rear, he thought it prudent to retire. Again, they were in company when Marion attacked and took the Tories in the fork of Black River, commanded by Col. Tynes.¹³ Marion crossed the north branch of the river, below their camp, and came up in the fork, which side was altogether unguarded. Here a man was killed with a game card in his hand;¹⁴ and here Capt. James Rembert¹⁵ was rescued from them, but got his arm broken in the skirmish.

The next attack deserving notice was at old Capt. Postell's, on the branch of Pee Dee River.¹⁶ The British had taken him prisoner and carried him to Georgetown; his sons¹⁷ were with Marion; the fine large house on the premises had been seized and was now occupied by the enemy as a fortification, it being so convenient to obtain supplies for their army. Here they were as snugly situated as if they had been the owners of the palace, and the lords of creation. But Marion, hearing of their comfortable quarters, resolved to disturb their repose, and break up their nest; nor could he be at any loss what officer to send: here was young Postell himself, well acquainted with every nook and corner about the place. He was already nettled at his father's treatment, and begrudged them his former home, while he had to lie in the swamps, with the heavens for his covering. His fingers were itching to get hold of them; so off he starts with fourteen men, to rout these intruders from the home of his youth; and, in order to conceal his numbers, formed them into a line four deep, and charged up behind the kitchen. He immediately sent in a flag, and ordered them to surrender. The officer asked a short time to make up his mind; Postell said he would not give him five minutes, and ordered his men to bring straw and set fire to the kitchen, from which the dwelling-house might take fire. But the officer seeing what they were up to, made his men stack their arms in the house and march out into the yard. When he presented his sword to Postell, he asked, "Where are your men?" and, on being told these fourteen were all, my brother said, he was the most angry man he ever saw. But this had now become British ground; hence, they had no time to tarry; off they put for the camp;

¹²Probably Horry. Both Colonels Peter Horry and Hugh Horry were in the action.

¹³Colonel Samuel Tynes. Actually, Tynes and the majority of his men escaped on this night of October 24, 1780, but Tynes was taken by some of Marion's men a few days later at the High Hills of Santee. In routing the party, however, Marion's Brigade won much equipment, including eighty good horses, saddles, and English muskets.

¹⁴A notorious rascal named Amos Gaskin. Of this incident Weems made a dramatic and fetching yarn.

¹⁵Probably James Rembert who later became a Methodist minister of some note in that country.

¹⁶February 21, 1782.

¹⁷James and John Postell.

Postell's men mounted, these on foot; and, by the time they reached the camp, the poor fellows on foot were mortified more than ever, having soiled their pretty trousers; for being in a hurry, Postell had made them plunge every creek and mud-hole in the way.¹⁸

When the British were in possession of Camden, under Lord Rawdon, Marion sent a small company to make observations. The British had charge also of the mills near Camden, (now belonging to Colonel Chesnut,) where they got grinding done for their army, and had stationed a company of men to defend it. This scout of Marion's approached in the night, and my brother, with one or two more, was in the act of setting fire to the building, when M'Pherson, contrary to orders, shot down their centry [sic]. This roused the men in the house, who came swarming down like bees; and alarmed the horse in Camden, whose feet roared like thunder, as they came to their relief; so the scout had to retreat.¹⁹

After they left Camden, they came upon a party of Tories, dancing, and ordered them to surrender; they did so; but when Maj. Downes,²⁰ their leader, came out and saw so few, not knowing that there were more just behind, he ran back, shut the doors and commanded his men to fire. Here the brave M'Donald was shot down in the yard.²¹ By this time, the balance of the squad came up, rushed in, and killed every man. Downes was shot last, under the bed. His daughter was wounded, and remained a cripple near Camden, until she died a few years ago. After M'Donald fell, he begged not to be left; but the Camden horse were pursuing; hence, they had to escape for their lives.

The next engagement I notice, and a dangerous one too, was on Pee Dee, near Wrag's Ferry. The British had sent a company of about fifty men for rice. While there, Pheuthey, with about forty men, was sent to take them. He charged upon them, making a considerable show; but when he got within shooting distance, found his men in a dreadful bog; the enemy seeing their situation, gathered up courage and commenced the attack, though just before in the act of laying down their arms. Our men, however, soon extricated themselves and took to their heels; but this did not satisfy Pheuthey, who having collected about a dozen of the men, rode round the quagmire, using an old house as a

¹⁸These colorful details, evidently, are nowhere else related by a contemporary. James Postell here took captive Captain James DePeyster, one other officer, and twenty-five men of the King's American Regiment, infamous Edmund Fanning's Tory corps. Several published accounts err concerning this action, among them Edward McCrady's *History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-80* (New York, 1901), p. 752.

¹⁹This scout may have been conducted in April, 1781, when Marion was moving from north of Williamsburg down to Fort Watson, on the Santee River. Cf. note 20 below.

²⁰Very likely Major William Downes, Irish merchant, blacksmith and turner, commissioned by Lord Rawdon in the loyalist militia, who was attacked in his house in Camden District, April 15, 1781, and killed in its defense.

²¹There were several McDonalds in Marion's Brigade. This one defies identification.

screen. Here, in order to stimulate his men, he rode out from the house to make an attack, but receiving a mortal wound, he commanded a retreat; and now was the most dangerous time of any, for the whole fifty were upon them. In the retreat, my brother Samuel received two balls through his clothes; one through his boot, the other, the breast of his coat. Had it not been for the bog, our men would have taken them in the first onset without firing a gun.

Another hot time they had near Georgetown, at Col. Alston's, called "The Pens."²² I think my brother, and perhaps Gabriel Marion,²³ were on the picket guard when the Tories rode up; and upon being hailed by our men, the captain, advancing a little, said, "We are friends to King George:" which was no sooner uttered than the guard fired and wheeled to escape; but several were thrown from their horses and taken; my brother fell also, but recovered, and mounted again before they could seize him. The enemy pursued, and so close was the chase, they ran immediately up to Marion's camp; and while wheeling to retreat, fell by our marksmen, like ripe fruit to the ground. It was a sad day to the Tories: several of our old neighbours (among whom was my father's old blacksmith) were killed. But Marion suffered also; for they not only made prisoners of the men they took from us, but killed them in cold blood; particularly young Marion; his name alone was enough for them; he was shot down, it was believed, by one Sweat, who was overtaken by justice the same day, and shared a similar fate.²⁴

My brothers were present also when Marion besieged and took Fort Watson, an Indian mound about forty feet high, on Scott's Lake, near Vance's Ferry.²⁵ This was one of their posts, right on the "war path," between Charleston and Camden. Before this fort was taken, Marion cut off all communication, and literally starved them out. Here, my brother Samuel took the small-pox, which he carried home with him. It was thought best for us all to be inoculated; and I remember I exposed myself while under its influence, and became so deathly sick, I wished to die, not dreading the consequence; this circumstance convinces me that a man may be willing to die, in order to be relieved of present suffering, however unprepared to meet his God.

My brothers were with Marion when pursued by Lord Cornwallis

²²The numerous Alston plantations in this region often were sources of supplies for Marion's men. William Alston traditionally is said to have served from time to time with rank of colonel in the Brigade.

²³Gabriel Marion, son of Gabriel Marion of St. Stephen's Parish, was the nephew of the General.

²⁴This patrol action, in which Gabriel Marion was murdered, took place between November 10 and 13, 1780.

²⁵The siege of Fort Watson on Santee river took place between April 15 and 23, 1781.

from Savannah; and narrowly escaped being taken prisoners at the fall of Charleston.²⁶

About this time, Watson²⁷ started toward Lumberton, N. C., on a plundering expedition. I suppose he crossed at Britton's Ferry, and came up through the Neck. He got to our house on the 7th of April, about 9 or 10 o'clock, A. M.—Hearing he was coming, I went out on the swamp side, and got on the fence to see the company pass. The horse in front galloped up to the house, and prepared to camp. By this time, cousin John Jenkins rode up the hill, having been sent to reconnoitre by Col Herry [sic],²⁸ who was in the back swamp. But he was soon discovered, and hither they came full tilt; my cousin requested me to mount behind him, and off we galloped into the swamp. It seemed they were afraid to follow us, as they did not pursue far; perhaps, thinking that Marion was close by.—And now I was in an awkward condition. My cousin soon left me to join his company, and I durst not go home; but there, in the swamp, among the wild beasts I must stay, until these gentlemen Tories and fat-faced British pleased to leave. When they had gone, which was just before night, I came out of my hiding-place, and upon my return home, found that they had made sad havoc among the beeves, having killed no less than seven, which they skinned and left on the spot, because too poor for them. The garden was almost entirely destroyed. My mother had a considerable quantity of fine English peas; but they stood no chance before these hungry soldiers. They also took from the place two likely negro fellows.

Watson himself had, during his stay, taken up quarters in the house; and being in the presence of my mother, she asked him if he did not find it difficult to get from the Ferry to her house with the baggage; as the bridges were torn up? to which he replied, "No, madam, I never find any difficulty, when on British ground. Do you not believe, madam, the British will conquer the Americans?" "No, sir; I wish I was as sure of heaven as I am that the Americans will gain their independence; and I think, sir, you believe so too." At this the colonel became quite angry, and replied, "No! madam, I do not believe it." "How many sons have you among the rebels, madam?" "None, sir: the king has rebelled against us, and not we against the king."—"Well, madam, how many have you with Marion?" "I have three, sir; and I only wish they were three thousand." "Send for them, send for them, madam, and let them take protection, marry wives, and settle their plantations." "Will you stay,

²⁶Marion was never pursued from Savannah by Cornwallis, who never got that far south on a military operation. In October, 1779, Marion was at the siege of Savannah as an officer in the Second South Carolina Regiment.

²⁷Colonel John Watson, British officer against whom Marion fought through the Santee swamps in March, 1781. This incident probably occurred at the close of these skirmishes when Watson had retreated to Georgetown and then moved up toward Catfish Creek to take a position in the country.

²⁸Colonel Peter Horry or Hugh Horry.

sir, and protect them?" "No, madam, indeed;" quite enraged, "it is enough for me to pardon them." "Pardon them, sir! they have not asked it yet." Cooling down a little, he asked her to take a glass of wine with him, to which through courtesy she consented. As she was in the act of taking the wine, he said, "Health to King George." But it was her time next; and she retaliated, by saying, "Health to George Washington." He made a wry face, but could not refuse. This over, Col. Watson resumed the conversation, by saying, "Well, madam, have you heard that Gen. Marion has joined Lord Rawdon?"²⁹ "No, sir, indeed I have not." "Well, madam, it is a matter of fact." "Sir, I don't believe it." "Why, madam, you might as well tell me, I lie." "I don't say you lie, sir; but I don't believe it." This vexed him again, insomuch, that he struck his tents and went a mile further, to John Ray's, where he spent the night. The above conversation I had from my mother immediately upon my return to the house from the swamp, and heard her repeat it often afterward.

The next day, Watson and his men proceeded toward North Carolina in great glee, blowing their bugles as they went, until they heard that General Green was coming;³⁰ when they turned about and made for Georgetown, in great haste, and with all possible silence.³¹ On their return, I narrowly escaped falling into their hands.

As soon as my brothers recovered from the small-pox, they joined the brigade again. In a short time, Marion and Sumter united their forces and followed the British toward Charleston until they came to Quinby Bridge, where the enemy were snugly fortified in a range of houses, and prepared for battle. Sumter and Marion had no other alternative but to march up in the open field, entirely exposed, or command a retreat. The attack was made, and with great loss to our men. All that fell in this action were of Marion's command. Here my brother Frank received a wound, of which he died in a few days. He was an amiable young man, strictly moral, and greatly beloved by us all. When cousin John returned and brought the news, it was like a dagger to my heart; and having heard that Sumter *would* go into battle, whether or not, live or die, I thought then, I could never forgive him. I was also informed that Marion was opposed to risk his men under circumstances so forbidding; and, from what I have heard of his character, I am disposed to believe it. He loved his men, and would not expose them where there was no hope. My brother

²⁹Lord Rawdon, young English officer left in command of the south by Cornwallis, when Cornwallis moved northward into North Carolina.

³⁰Nathanael Greene, commanding officer of the American Army in the Southern Department.

³¹Marion never did learn why Watson turned about and retreated to Georgetown without striking at the Brigade, which was by this time so worn down that it could not have offered resistance. This speculation that the approach of Greene motivated Watson's retreat is rather sound.

Samuel was not in this skirmish, as he was at this time acting as commissary for Marion.³²

The last battle in which my brothers and cousin were engaged, and I believe the last remarkable one in the state, was at the Eutaw Springs. This was, perhaps, the hottest engagement they had, and one that decided victory on our side; for, notwithstanding the surrender at Yorktown, made by Cornwallis to Washington, was subsequent to this; and although various engagements took place in South Carolina afterward; yet, it was this battle which gave the death-blow to British arrogance, as it existed among us, and vastly moderated their contemptuous hate and lordly bearing. This battle was fought on the 8th of September, 1781. In it fell my cousin, who so lately had escaped to bear tidings of the death of my brother, and comfort us in our sorrow. He was in the advance militia, commanded by Marion and others, who sustained the fire of the enemy so nobly and faltered not, until relieved by succeeding numbers. My brother Samuel was still providing for the camp.

A short time before the close of the war, I was called out under Col. Baxter,³³ who had charge of a small part of Marion's brigade. Our principal business was to guard the Neck against the invasion of Tories. We encamped first at Ray's, (in the Neck).³⁴ From Ray's we removed to Tarrel's Bay, near Little Pee Dee; thence to the redoubt thrown up and occupied by Marion, opposite Port's Ferry; thence, again, a few miles above the ferry, on the bank of the river. Here we remained until we heard the Tories had taken our boat freighted with rice, near the mouth of Black Lake, which induced us to go in pursuit of them. When we got there, they would not stand to give us fight; but, while our men, in canoes, were going up the lake in search of the boat, they fired on them from the swamp, and wounded one of the company, Robert James.³⁵— From this place, Baxter detached a small company, and myself among them, with an express to Capt. Warden, at Star Bluff, on Waccamaw, who was stationed there to guard that part of the country. From this place we had to carry a message to the army in North Carolina. On our way, we were obliged to camp in a Tory neighbourhood, where we expected

³²This sweep of the Low Country was under command of General Thomas Sumter and began July 13, 1781, while Greene with the main American army rested at the High Hills of Santee. On the afternoon of July 17, 1781, the combined forces of Sumter, Marion, and Henry Lee came on British Colonel Coates, Nineteenth Foot Regiment, who had earlier been dislodged from fortified Biggin Church near Monck's Corner. In a sharp frontal attack on the British, barricaded in the Shubrick plantation buildings, Marion's Brigade suffered heavily. Resentment against Sumter was indeed high, for his officers and his colleagues felt that he should have waited for artillery, then en route, to come up.

³³Colonel John Baxter, of Marion's Brigade, who had figured gallantly in the action at Shubrick's, July 17, 1781.

³⁴A plantation in Britton's Neck considerably north of the Ferry.

³⁵One of the many Jameses, brothers and cousins, of Williamsburg District, who won distinction in Marion's Brigade. One of them, William D. James, became chronicler of the Brigade.

an attack without fail. About day-break we heard our centry hail, "Who comes there?" and the reply, "A friend." "Friend to whom?" bawled out the centry. "To King George," said the other; when off went their guns, and into the camp ran our centries with great precipitation. Immediately we were ordered to form; so up we jumped, and bare-headed and undressed, we snatched up our guns, making ready for battle; but we could see no enemy; and soon found it was a false alarm, intended by the officers to ascertain whether their men could be relied on in the event of an engagement. In a few days we reached the army, and delivered our message. They had taken two noted Tories, who were to be executed the day we got there; but our captain being anxious to get home, would not stay for us to witness their execution.

When we returned home, we were discharged, there being no longer any necessity for our services in the field. Here that protracted, eventful and bloody struggle, closed . . .

CONSTITUTION

I

The name of this organization shall be The South Carolina Historical Association.

II

The objects of the Association shall be to promote historical studies in the State of South Carolina; to bring about a closer relationship among persons living in this State who are interested in history; and to encourage the preservation of historical records.

III

Any person approved by the executive committee may become a member by paying \$2.00 and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$2.00.

IV

The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, and a secretary and treasurer who shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting. A list of nominations shall be presented by the executive committee, but nominations from the floor may be made. The officers shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

V

There shall be an executive committee made up of the officers and of two other members elected by ballot for a term of three years; at the first election, however, one shall be elected for two years. Vacancies shall be filled by election in the same manner at the annual meeting following their occurrence. Until such time they shall be filled by appointment by the president. The duties of the executive committee shall be to fix the date and place of the annual meeting, to attend to the publication of the proceedings of the Association, to prepare a program for the annual meetings, to prepare a list of nominations for the officers of the Association as provided in Article IV, and such other duties as may be from time to time assigned to them by the Association. There shall be such other committees as the president may appoint, or be instructed to appoint, by resolution of the Association.

VI

There shall be an annual meeting of the Association at the time and place appointed by the executive committee.

VII

The Association shall publish annually its proceedings to be known as *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*. It shall contain the constitution, by-laws, and minutes of the annual meeting together with such papers and documents selected by the executive committee as may be published without incurring a deficit. It is understood that all papers read at the annual meeting become the property of the Association except as otherwise may be provided by the executive committee. The executive committee shall annually elect an editor of the *Proceedings*. He shall have authority to appoint an associate editor and shall be a member of the executive committee, but without vote.

VIII

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the annual business meeting.

MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

BAKER, MARY NEEL.....	Greenwood, S. C.
<i>Greenwood High School</i>	
BARNWELL, ROBERT W., SR.....	Florence, S. C.
BARNWELL, ROBERT W., JR.....	Murray, Ky.
<i>Assistant Professor of History, Murray State Teachers College</i>	
BARNWELL, MRS. ROBERT W., JR.....	Murray, Ky.
BLAKE, EUGENE H.....	Greenwood, S. C.
BOYD, RUTH	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Greenville Senior High School</i>	
BREWSTER, LAWRENCE F.....	Durham, N. C.
<i>Instructor in History, Duke University</i>	
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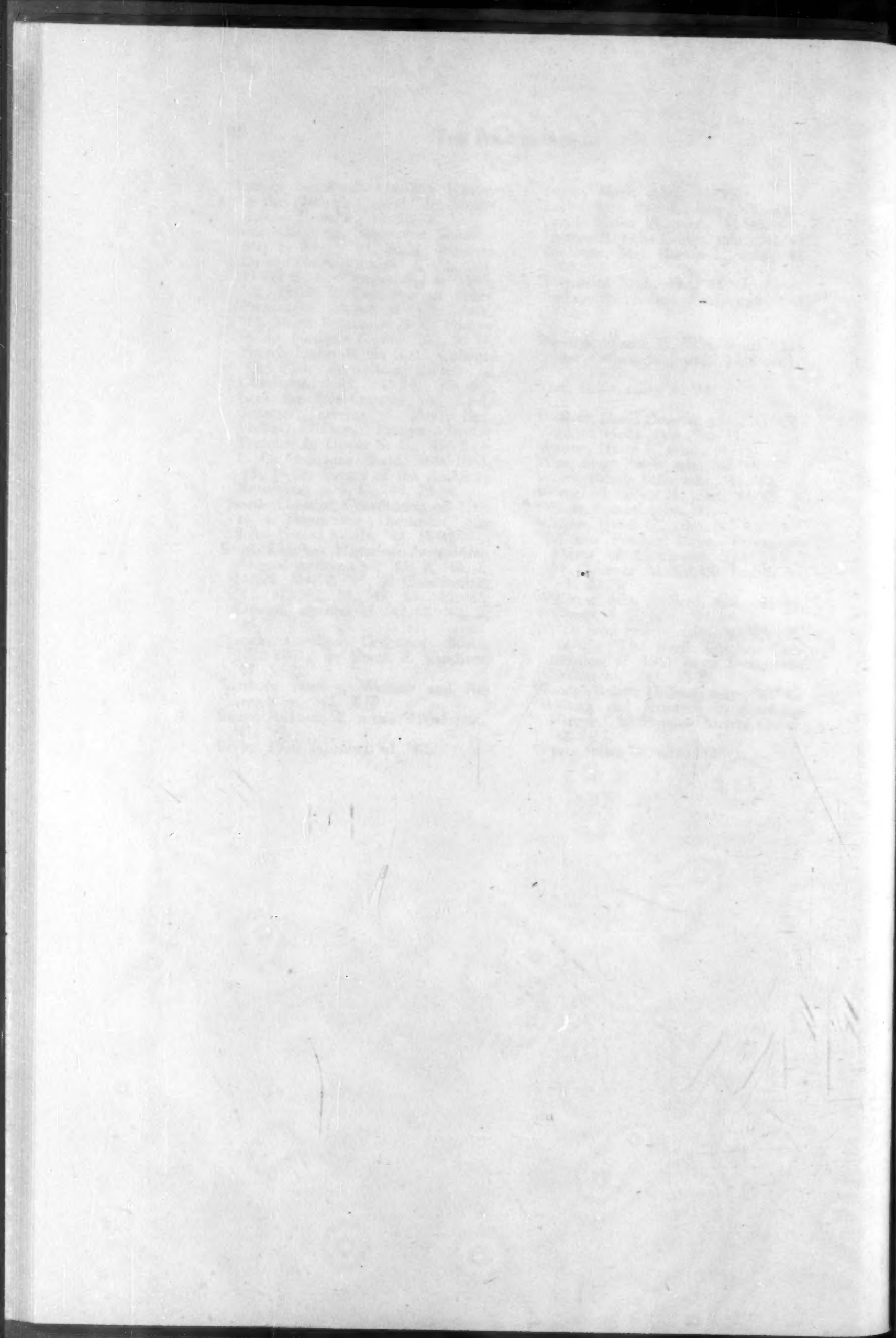
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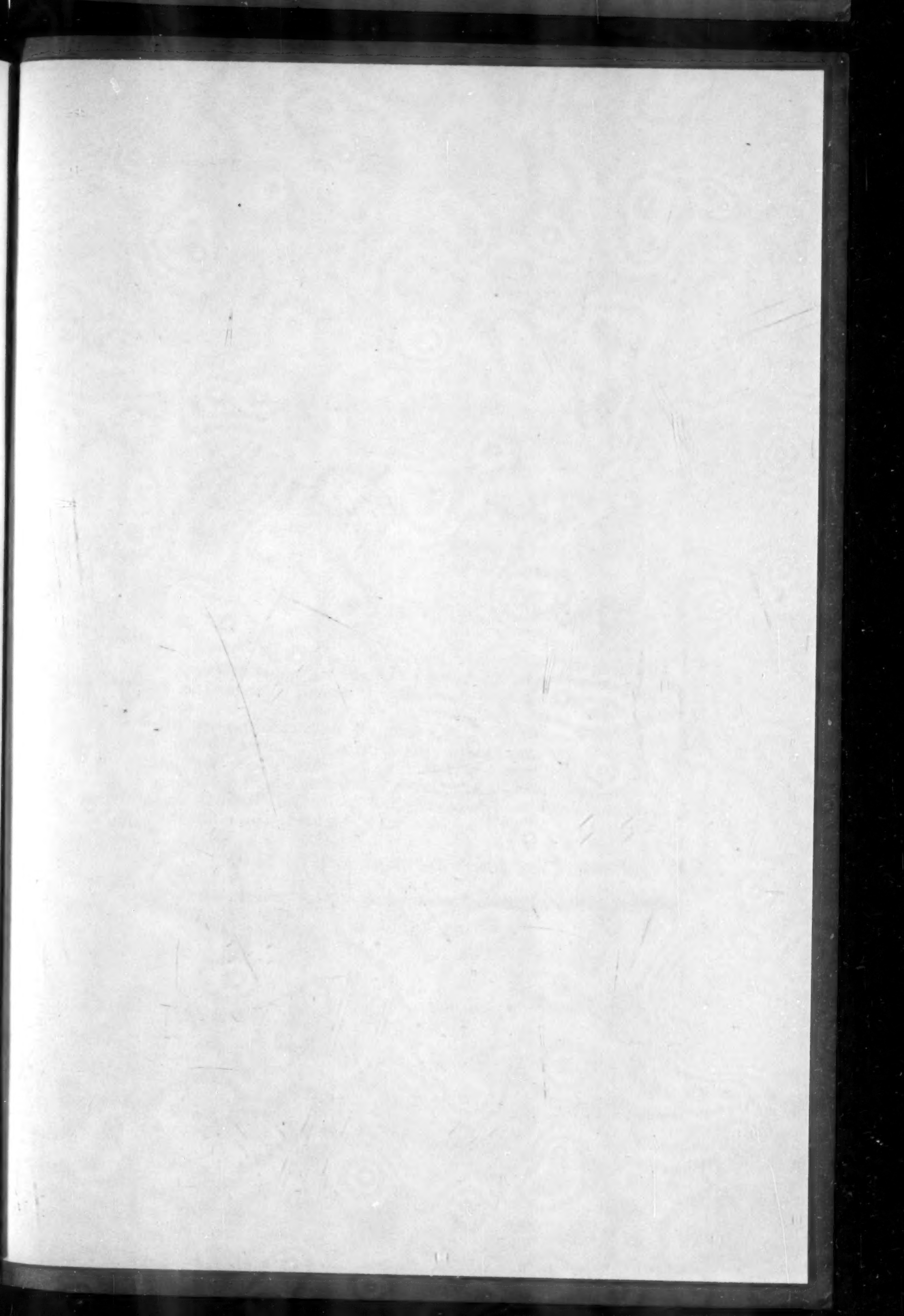
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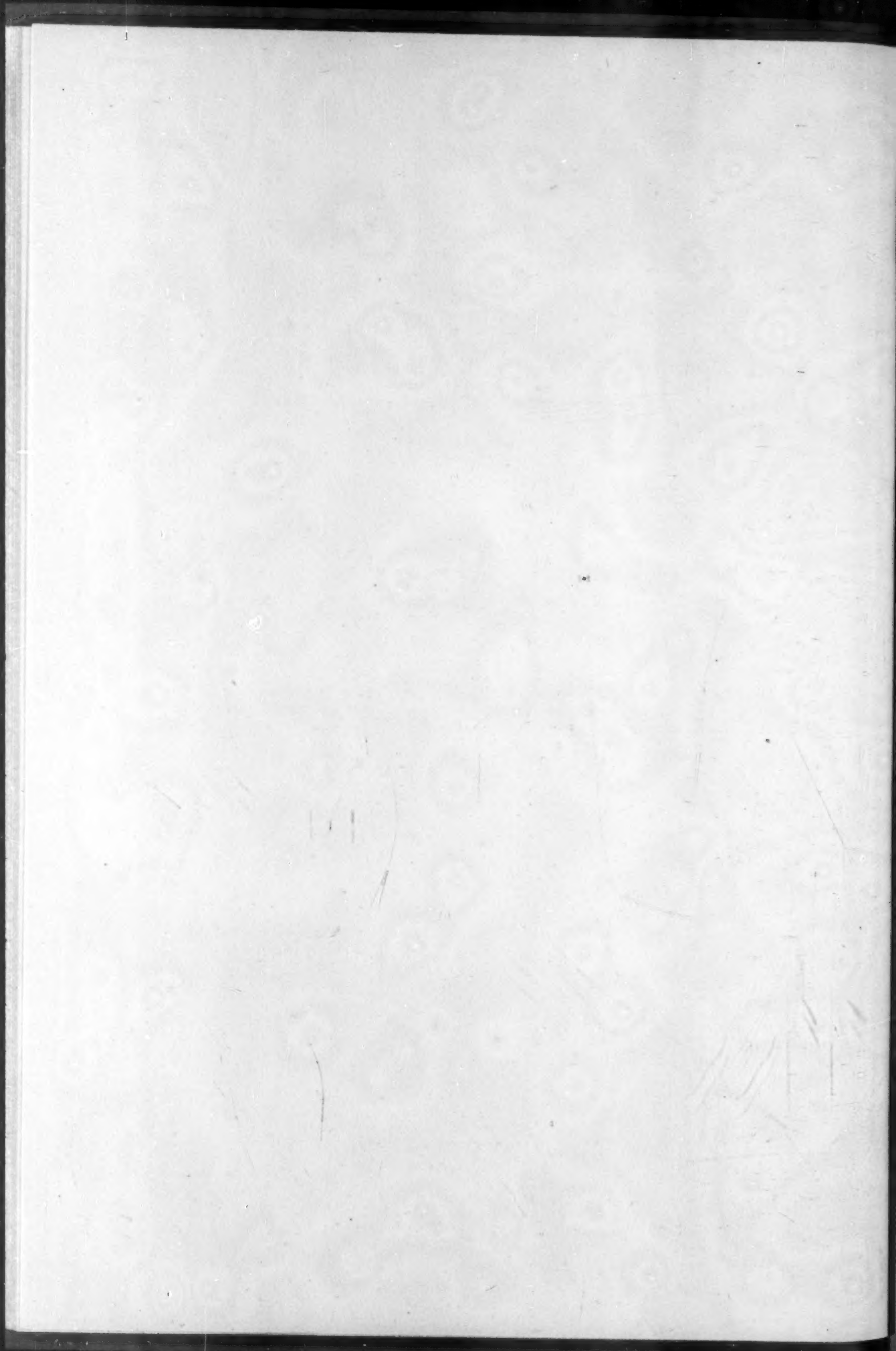
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